

Centre for History and Economics

Common Security Forum

Narrative Report

December 1995-November 1996

The Centre for History and Economics at King's College, Cambridge continues to provide the main administrative base of the Common Security Forum (CSF). An administrative office was established in September 1995 at 3D King's Parade, and the staff takes responsibility for CSF coordination and for the organisation of annual CSF Forum meetings, in collaboration with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In addition, the Centre takes the principal responsibility for work on economic security and on nationalism and political security, and for support of Common Security forum activities in South Africa, India, and Russia. It collaborates closely with the Harvard Center for Population and Development Studies in CSF work on population, environment and security.

The CSF group at the Centre in 1995-6 consisted of: Stephan Klasen, formerly of the World Bank in South Africa, who joined CSF in October 1996 as a research fellow in the population and security programme; Rama Mani, who was a staff member of the Commission on Global Governance and who joined CSF as a part time Research Associate and PhD student in October 1996; Catherine Merridale, coordinator, together with Sergei Panarin, of the CSF Russia programme, and from October 1996, a CSF research fellow and fellow of Robinson College; Asha Patel, Administrative Officer of the Centre and administrative coordinator of the CSF; Emma Rothschild, Director of the Centre, and chair of the CSF Research Council; Meena Singh, postdoctoral research fellow, coordinator of the CSF South Africa programme and fellow of Clare Hall; and Noala Skinner, Research Associate, coordinator of the CSF Landmines programme and Editor of the CSF Newsletter.

The Centre in addition works closely with CSF coordinators in South Asia and the former Soviet Union, including Sergei Panarin (Russia) who coordinates CSF work on Ethnic Migration; Kaushik Basu (Centre for Development Economics, Delhi/Cornell University) who coordinates the CSF programme on Nationalism and Communalism; and Jean Drèze and Meera Samson who lead the Economic Security Programme based at the Centre for Development Economics, Delhi School of Economics.

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The second major political level meeting of the Common Security Forum was held in Stockholm in September 1996, with the support of the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The focus of the meeting was transition in the former Soviet Union. Five main questions were addressed: the paradigm of economic transition, the change in public

health, the transformation in military deployments and doctrines, evidence about changing social attitudes, especially in relation to migration and minorities, and transition and governance.

The meeting brought together over 50 participants from the academic and public policy fields. It was divided into eight sessions and was opened by the Foreign Minister of Sweden, Lena Hjelm-Wallén, who spoke on *Common Security and Political Transition*. Papers covering each of the main themes were commissioned and circulated prior to the meeting, and discussed over the two days. In the session on ***Political and Economic Transition***, Emma Rothschild and Catherine Merridale presented their papers, *Transition and Mentalities* and *The Idea of Transition in the Post-Soviet CIS*. A similar format was adopted for the sessions on ***Transition and Health Security*** with discussion of the papers of Lincoln Chen, *Human Security Crisis in Russia: A Failed Health Transition* and Vladimir Shkolnikov (Centre for Demography and Human Ecology, Moscow) *Recent Trends in Life Expectancy and Causes of Death in Russia*. In the session on ***Social Transition and Migration*** the papers of Erik Hansen (Fafo), *Transition in Russia: Social Change as Adaption to Reform From Above*, and Sergei Panarin, *Human Security and Ethnically Based Migration: The Experience of the Commonwealth of Independent States* were discussed. In the session on ***Demilitarisation and Security*** discussion of the themes brought up in the paper by Ian Anthony and Vladimir Baranovsky (SIPRI) *Russian Military Expenditure and the Security Transition* was introduced with comments from Boris Tarasyuk (Ukrainian Ambassador to the Benelux countries, NATO and the WEU, Brussels) and Irina Kobrinskaya (Project Coordinator, Carnegie Centre/Senior Research Fellow, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow). In the session on ***Governance and Transition***, comparisons were drawn between Sweden and the U.S. by Derek Bok (President Emeritus, Harvard University) and discussion was led by Mart Laar (Former Prime Minister, Estonia) and Bengt Sæve-Soderbergh (Secretary General, Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance). The final sessions of the meeting were devoted to ***Development Cooperation***: the initial session brought comments on Japanese ODA from Hiroshi Andou (Strategic Peace and International Research Institute, Tokai University) and American development cooperation from John Sewell (Director, Overseas Development Council, Washington), and the final session of the meeting brought together a panel of academics and policymakers, discussing ***International Responsibility and Development***

**Cooperation.** The panel consisted of Tessa Blackstone (Master, Birkbeck College/Opposition Spokesman on Foreign Affairs, House of Lords, UK), Sissela Bok (Distinguished Fellow, Harvard University), Mart Laar, Sergey Mitrokhin (Deputy Chairman, Local Authority Questions Committee of Parliament, Russia), Keizo Takemi (Strategic Peace and Research Institute, Tokai University/Councillor, Upper House, Japan), and Boris Tarasyuk. The panel discussion was preceded by summaries of the conference themes from Lincoln Chen, Catherine Merridale, Emma Rothschild and Michael Sohlman (Director, Nobel Foundation).

The sessions were chaired by Michael Sohlman, Anna Hedborg (Director General, Social Insurance Board, Sweden), Gun-Britt Andersson (Secretary of State for Migration and Asylum Policy, Sweden), Anders Bjurner (Deputy State Secretary, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden), Carl Tham (Minister of Education and Science, Sweden), and Mats Karlsson (State Secretary for Development Cooperation, Sweden).

The focus of the 1997 Annual Forum Meeting, to be held in autumn 1997 in Stockholm, will be common security and civil society in Africa. Five main questions will be addressed: economic change, the prevention of conflict, the causes of conflict, political security, and the international politics of development partnership. The substantive organisation of the meeting will be undertaken by the CSF coordination office in Cambridge, England, in cooperation with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs. The two African specialists in the Cambridge group, Stephan Klasen and Meena Singh, will play a leading role in the preparations, both in the UK and in Southern Africa. A small international advisory group, including media participants, will be established to oversee the preparations for the meeting.

The Centre has in the course of the year hosted several international meetings. In December 1995 a meeting on History and Identity was held at King's College. The meeting was the second in a series of colloquia examining problems of language and transition in post-communist and post-colonial states. The papers focused primarily on one set of interlinked themes: the problems of post-colonial history, the issues raised by the exercise of patronage over emerging historical traditions, and the difficulties associated with inter-cultural misunderstanding. Presentations were made on *Language, Patronage and the Creation of Historical Paradigm* by Catherine Merridale; *Thinking About Colonial and Post-Colonial Histories: the Case of Jamaica* by Catherine Hall (University of Essex);

*The Muslim Individual and the Community in Islam in South Asia, c. 1857-1919* by Ayesha Jalal. Concluding remarks were made by Emmanuel Sivan (Hebrew University) and Jay Winter (Cambridge University). Commentators included Susan Bayly (Cambridge University), Sugata Bose (Tufts University), and Tim Rees (University of Exeter).

In June 1996, the Centre hosted a colloquium on Disarmament and Demilitarisation. The meeting, on the theme *Reasoning About Demilitarisation: A Spectrum of Approaches* brought together approximately 20 participants from a variety of disciplines and backgrounds, and took the format of a roundtable discussion. Presentations were made by Melissa Lane (University of Cambridge), on *The idea of disarmament in the 20th century*, Philip Towle (University of Cambridge), on *The Case of Germany post WWI*, and Gabriela Rodriguez (Arias Foundation), on *The cases of Costa Rica and Panama*. There were also presentations from Rolf Ekéus (United Nations Special Commission), Julian Perry Robinson (University of Sussex), Franklyn Griffiths (University of Toronto) and Mary Kaldor (University of Sussex). Participants included Gareth Stedman Jones (Centre for History and Economics), James Cornford (The Paul Hamlyn Foundation) and Peter Weiderud (Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs). The colloquium was also a planning meeting for the Annual Policy Forum and considered themes which were later addressed in the September meeting in Stockholm.

The Nations, States and Empires seminar series ran at the Centre during the Lent and Easter Terms of 1996. Thomas Mastnak (Slovene Academy of Sciences) spoke on *The Abbé de Saint-Pierre, European Union and the Turk*, Bernard Williams (Corpus Christi College, Oxford) on *Moralism and Realism in Liberal Politics*, and Elaine Scarry (Harvard University) on *Thinking in an Emergency*.

Noala Skinner, CSF Research Associate and coordinator of the Landmines programme, has begun research on the military utility of landmines, following on from the meeting on Anti-Personnel Mines and the Review of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons, held in Cambridge in September 1995. A new project was initiated in October 1996, which will be concerned with the comparative study of the military effectiveness of landmines in battle and their peripheral and post-conflict impact, and will draw evidence from several case studies including Iraq, the Falkland Islands\Malvinas, Ethiopia\Eritrea, and India\Pakistan. The study will be directed by Rae McGrath (former Director of the Mines Advisory Group) in collaboration with the

Common Security Forum. In October 1996, Noala Skinner presented a paper on the military utility of landmines at a conference, *Towards a Global Ban on Landmines*, which was held in Ottawa and organised by the Canadian Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Mines Action Canada.

In the context of CSF work on child labour, Noala Skinner worked as a press officer and assistant to Lisbet Palme at the *World Congress Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children* which was held in Stockholm in August 1996.

### **South Africa**

Meena Singh, the coordinator of CSF activities in South Africa, and a postdoctoral fellow based at the Centre and Clare Hall, Cambridge, has continued her work on environmental security. Her project on environmental refugees will be undertaken alongside parallel studies on environmental resource degradation and depletion, changing access and resource needs. Additional support for the South Africa programme is provided by Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA).

CSF South Africa was represented in an OAU Conference on Early Warning for Conflict Prevention held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in January 1996. Meena Singh was invited as a "Resource Person" to present a paper on Early Warning to Prevent Environmental Conflicts. In May 1996, Meena Singh attended a "High Level Think Tank on Energy Policy and Planning for the SADC Region", organised and hosted by the South African Regional Institute for Policy Studies in Harare.

As part of the CSF South Africa programme Stephan Klasen is carrying out research on inequality in connection with the programme on population, consumption and security. Support is provided by the Pew Global Stewardship Initiative.

### **Russia**

In April 1996 Sergei Panarin gave a paper entitled, *Possible Scenarios of the Political Developments in the New Central Asian States: Implications for Migration* at an international seminar in Minsk, Byelarus. Dr. Panarin will conclude his work on ethnic migration in 1996, and he will then embark on a three year study of Russian and post-Soviet youth and its political behaviour and beliefs. This work will include comparative studies of Russian and Kazakh youth and will involve field studies by members of

Panarin's group at the Institute of Oriental Studies.

In December 1995 a new Russian journal, *Acta Eurasica* was launched, and included articles from CSF participants in the Moscow programme, Viktor Dyatlov, *"Caucasians" in the Russian provinces: Criminal Case as an Indicator of Interethnic Tension Levels*, Caroline Humphrey, *Avgai Khad: Theft and Social Trust in Post-Communist Mongolia*, Sergei Panarin, *Nations of Security in Post-Soviet Eurasica* and Vladimir Bobrovnikov, *Nation-State Construction in Kazakhstan: Analysis and Prospects*. The second edition was published in September 1996. Articles included, Sergei Panarin, *Tajik refugees in Siberian cities*, Irina Kostyukova *Policy of Influence on Labour Market in Transforming Economies: A Case of Kyrgyzstan*, Yuri Alexsandrov *Ethno-Social Transformation and Stability of Eurasian Nations*, and Algis Prazauskas, *From the Russian Empire to the Soviet Union*.

Catherine Merridale's work on death and mourning in Soviet Russia, also supported by the Economic and Social Research Council and the British Academy, will result in a book to be published in 1999. Caroline Humphrey (Director of the Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit, Cambridge University), travelled to Moscow in December 1995 to prepare a paper on international trade and the state in Russia, which was produced as part of the CSF working paper series in April 1996, and presented at the Centre in November 1996.

### South Asia

The Economic Security Programme coordinated by Jean Drèze at the Delhi School of Economics marked the completion of its work on displacement and resettlement with the publication in June 1996 of the proceedings of the January 1995 workshop on Displacement and Resettlement in *Economic and Political Weekly*. In September 1996, the Narmada book, *The Dam and the Nation: Displacement and Resettlement in the Narmada Valley* was published.

In January 1996, Penguin India published, *Unravelling the Nation: Sectarian Conflict and India's Secular Identity*. The book, edited by Kaushik Basu and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, was produced as an outcome of the *Economic Theory and Nationalism* programme, with contributions by G. Balachrandan, Alaka Basu, Veena Das, Sudhir Kakar and Amartya Sen. It was reviewed extensively in India.

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Within the Common Security Forum working paper series, the Centre for History and Economics has produced the following papers in the 1995-6: Melissa Lane, *Reflections on Reasoning about Disarmament* (December 1995); Amartya Sen, *Population: Rights, Consequences and Coercion* (March 1996); Caroline Humphrey, *Traders, Disorder and Citizenship Regimes in Provincial Russia* (April 1996); Ian Anthony and Vladimir Baranovsky, *Russian Military Expenditure and the Security Transition* (September 1996), Erik Hansen, *Transition in Russia: Social Change as Adaptation to Reform from Above* (September 1996); Catherine Merridale, *The Idea of Transition in Post-Soviet Russia*, (September 1996), Sergei Panarin, *Human Security and Ethically Based Migration: The Experience of the Commonwealth of Independent States* (September 1996); Emma Rothschild, *Transitions and Mentalities*, (September 1996); and Vladimir Shkolnikov, *The Russian Health Crisis of the 1990s in Mortality Dimensions* (September 1996). Two of Catherine Merridale's CSF working papers have been published elsewhere, *The USSR Population Census of 1937 and the Limits of Stalinist Rule* appeared in the March 1996 edition of Historical Journal, and *Death, Memory and Mourning in Russia: Questions and Problems*, appeared in the October 1996 edition of History Workshop Journal. Forthcoming editions of Catherine Merridale's paper on *English-language History and the Creation of Historical Paradigm*, will be published in the December 1996 edition of the History of Human Sciences and a Russian translation will be published in Vestnik Evrazii/Acta Eurasia, No. 3, 1996. Emma Rothschild's article on *Social Security and Laissez-Faire in Eighteenth Century Political Economy* was published in the December 1995 edition of Population and Development Review and a shorter version appeared in Development and Change in April 1996. Ayesha Jalal's paper on *Conjuring Pakistan: History as Official Imagining*, appeared in the February 1995 edition of the International Journal of Middle East Studies.